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ABSTRACT

A qualitative study of women elementary school teachers focused on the teachers' values, attitudes towards teaching, and how they negotiated their work interest with sex role and family expectations. Formal and informal interviews with teachers, administrators, and parents were conducted over a seven month period. Three perspectives provided the basis for the research: (1) sociology of occupations, which recognizes the importance of work to self-identity; 2) symbolic interaction, a phenomenological construct that assumes that behavior is significantly affected by its setting; and (3) feminism, which, in the research context, attempts to remove men as a measure of behavior. The teachers perceived a high degree of autonomy in their work, especially as compared with practices in other schools in their district. They felt that their principal respected and trusted them. However, two limitations caused frustration and anger. Frequently, bureaucratic problems forced teachers to contrast their ideals of service and professionalism with their treatment in the school district system. The second major limitation was the behavior of parents and their image of the teachers' role, both of which, the teachers felt, threatened the teachers' authority. Two important issues in teacher behavior and attitudes that must be considered as a result of these findings are how the structure of schools affect teachers' career patterns and the hostile feelings of women teachers toward mothers of their students. (FG)

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# AUTONOMY IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLTEACHERS

Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting
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Teaching, particularly elementary schoolteaching, has long been considered not only ordinary work for women, but also an occupation for ordinary women.[1] Two aspects of the teaching profession -- its sex-segregated status and its reputation as a haven for the unambitious and the conventional -- have caused scholars to show little serious interest in understanding the perspectives women teachers hold on their lives in schools. What do they think about their daily work, their careers and their livelihood? What are their relationships like with their colleagues, with their supervisors and with the parents of the children they teach? What is their depth of commitment to the occupation of teaching?[2]

Earlier feminist research in education did not hasten to address these questions either. We concentrated on two other important areas. First, we examined the part that teachers play, along with educational materials and school systems, in fostering sex-role stereotyping and sex discrimination.[3] Second, we studied teaching as an avenue to leadership in schools, focusing primarily on what enables or prevents women from attaining management positions.[4] Women as leaders caught our attention.

A third reason which may account for our original low interest in teachers can be found in our attitudes toward schooling over the past fifteen years or so. During the sixties, publication of personal accounts of the detrimental effects of schools and schoolteachers on black and poor children caused us

to indict the racist attitudes and practices of many teachers.[5] Many of us worried that teachers and schools represented values that were not humanistic enough. Then, in the seventies, when national surveys reflected declining scores on achievement tests, and unionization efforts escalated in major cities, people complained of the inadequacy of teachers: of their low intellectual abilities as well as of their lack of job commitment. Rarely does anyone show very much sympathy for elementary schoolteachers and their work. As Margaret Nelson has written: "Vast numbers of American women have spent at least part of their lives in front of a classroom. We learned our basic skills from these women, and although they knew us, we know almost nothing about them."[6]

We know little about their subjective experience of work and we rarely perceive teachers sympathetically -- at least among the educated elites. All of us remember our own experiences with teachers clearly, and often not positively, and many of us must continually meet with or confront teachers about problems our own children have in school. Research has shown that teachers have an important impact on our lives,[7] but we have shown little interest until recently in either the nature of women teachers' occupational situations or their own perceptions of their work.[8] Historians and sociologists have begun to rectify this situation, particularly because of the emphasis in feminist sociology and in social and feminist history on the lives of ordinary people.[9] These works reflect changing assumptions about what is important to people.[10]

It is not that teachers have not been subjects of research. Innumerable books and articles have reported on many aspects of teachers' lives. It is rather that we have rarely examined teaching through the eyes of the women who occupy this occupational role. Rather, many studies of women who teach are anchored in certain stereotypical assumptions about women, and their attitudes toward work, family, and goals.

This traditional research on women and teaching reflects women's devalued position in American society. Limited by its conceptual framework, this scholarship has assumed that women's primary orientation is toward family and motherhood and argues that the work of married women who teach is shaped around and fitted to their family lives.[11] These women have, that is, little intrinsic interest in their work. Within this framework, women schoolteachers view their work as "jobs" rather than as "careers";[12] they appear as "tractable subordinates" who feel comfortable working in highly bureaucratized and hierarchical environments with little autonomy,[13] and they are attracted to the teaching profession because they lack the drive for intellectual mastery.[14] This research reveals more about social values regarding women than it does about the values women teachers hold about their work.

My own reactions that this research reflected stereotypical cultural assumptions about women and a disbelief that women were so uncommitted to their work caused me to look further in the literature for studies which had investigated teachers' own work perceptions. What I found were the Biennial Staff and

Salary Surveys, and the Status of the American Public-School Teacher Surveys of the National Education Association.[15] While these large-scale surveys conducted among women teachers contradicted these stereotyped assertions about elementary schoolteachers,[16] they did not expand my understanding of the issues with description. And so, I undertook to study how women elementary schoolteachers look upon their work, what they value and criticize about their occupation, and how they negotiate their work interests with sex-role and family expectations.

Design of the Study

This study of teaching as an occupation for women utilizes the qualitative research methods of participant observation and indepth interviewing. The kind of data qualitative research methods collect has been termed soft, that is, rich in description of people, places, and conversation, and not easily handled by statistical procedures. Research questions are not framed by operationalizing variables previous to the research effort; rather questions are formulated inductively, usually during data collection, to investigate issues in all their complexity and in context. Again, while qualitative researchers tend to develop a focus as they collect data, we do not approach the research with specific questions to answer or hypotheses to test. We are concerned with understanding behavior from the subject's own frame of reference.[17]

I spent seven months observing and interviewing teachers, administrators, and parents in one urban elementary school. I spent the majority of my time with teachers in the teachers' lounge, in meetings, in their classrooms. I also had lunch with

teachers in restaurants over the summer months and interviewed some of them in their homes. I interviewed the school principal many times both formally, when I would set up an appointment, and informally, when I would stop to chat with her when I was in the building. I also observed her leading meetings, interacting with teachers, and handling emergencies. Additionally, I interviewed a number of parents in their homes during the summer months.[18] I will describe the setting in more detail shortly.

The theoretical framework that informs this project is threefold:

First is the sociology of occupations perspective: From this view, the study of work focuses particularly on those issues which relate organizational structure to occupational life or career. The sociology of occupations emphasizes the importance of working to a person's self-identity; it has examined the criteria of membership in occupations; it discusses the social meaning work has for particular occupational participants; it studies work behaviors in different occupations; and it explores how occupations shape the individual identities of its members as compared with how members' characteristics shape the nature of an occupation. Occupational sociologists in the tradition of Everett Hughes attempt to bypass official versions of occupational life to get at the social realities of the particular work setting or occupational group under study.[19]

The second perspective is the theory of symbolic interaction: As on theoretical foundation for qualitative research strategies, symbolic interaction assumes that human behavior is significantly influenced by the settings in which it occurs. A phenomenological construct, symbolic interaction takes as a basic assumption that

human experience is mediated by interpretation. The meaning people give to their experiences and their process of interpretation, in other words, is essential and constitutive, not accidental and secondary to what the experience is.[20] To understand behavior, we must understand definitions people hold of events and issues in their lives, and the process by which these definitions are created. The central methodological implication of this sociological position is that social relationships and events must be understood from the point of view of the social actors themselves.[21]

Third is feminism: While feminist scholarship encompasses a range of disciplines and points of view, basic to this perspective is the belief that to fully understand women's lives we must put them at the center of our inquiry. In the past, because of the androcentric nature of intellectual inquiry, women's lives have existed on the periphery. Elizabeth and Joseph Pleck describe this conceptualization: "Men are male only part of the time, women are female always, said Rousseau in Emile. The activity and behavior of men are seen as human activity, that of women as distinctly female."[22] A feminist scholarship attempts to remove man as the measure. Men and the male career model have always been the measure for studying women's careers in teaching.[23]

The Research Setting and Subjects

Vista City elementary school serves 800 black and white children in a mid-size city in the Northeastern United States.[24] There were forty-odd members of the instructional staff. Of these only one was a male classroom teacher, though men occupied positions

of gym teacher, school psychologist, a special teacher and several special education, non-teaching, positions. Most staff members were white.[25] The principal was female, while her administrative assistant was male. Vista City elementary school, located in a middle-class community, populated mostly by professionals and academics, has many children bused in from poorer neighborhoods; thus its school population reflects a wide variety of social classes. When achievement test scores are published annually in the local newspaper each spring, Vista City elementary school shows the highest. I spent seven months doing research at this school.[26]

All the teachers reported a high degree of autonomy in their classrooms. The principal wanted a variety of teaching styles represented at each grade level. Teachers felt, consequently, that their classrooms, at least from the principal's perspective, were theirs. While the principal conducted a once-a-year observation/evaluation of each classroom, she never asked to see lesson plans or have them submitted to her weekly for her signature. Almost every teacher highly approved this style, and in the next breath would criticize another school or school district. For example: "In Westside, it's the person on high calling all his underlings in and telling them what to do. He says, 'You're going to do this, and this, and this,' and then they come around to check and make sure this is true! That's absolutely not the case here and that's one of the best things about the school." Only one teacher wanted a more authoritarian structure, believing that the policy of the principal signing lesson plans insured

better teaching and high morale. The freedom provided by the curriculum was progressively narrowing however, as the school district had decided for the following year to use one basal text for all the elementary schools (in addition to Distar). The teachers protested mightily this decision.

The situation for Vista City teachers during the period of this study was a bit peculiar in this time of declining enrollments. While most schools in the district had staffs that were almost entirely tenured, particular circumstances had created a comparatively high percentage of untenured teachers. Job insecurity was high for these teachers as they did not know whether they would have a job the next year. They found these circumstances debilitating.

The Vista City teachers ranged in age from early twenties to early fifties. Most were married, although many of the youngest teachers and two of the oldest were single. There were a couple of divorced women teachers and one of the male "specials" was also divorced. All the married teachers had children or planned to have them. Many of those with husbands were married to men with conservative social values regarding women's roles. Those women who had taught in public school before marriage or after marriage but before childbirth often had to develop strategies to appease their husbands in order to return to work, for their intense desire to work conflicted with their husband's wishes.

Teaching experience varied widely as well, from first-year teachers to those with twenty years experience. Most,

however, had taught between five to thirteen years. In discussing their work histories, some women reported that they had always worked, but their career patterns look irregular when compared to men's. The most common change in their working situations after childbirth, for example, was for the women to start nursery schools or little day care centers in their homes.[27] Their pronouncement of always having worked also describes the intensity of their efforts, the amount of energy they spent in a day.

The Teachers and their Work

The day I first walked through the doors of Vista City Elementary School I attempted to cleanse my mind of the expertise I had presented to the National Institute of Education. There always exists a tension for qualitative researchers between proposal writing and the actual undertaking of the study. While I needed to show NIE how much I knew so that they would fund me, I knew that in order to conduct a good study, I needed to be as open as possible to the environment I would be studying, so that I could build an analysis inductively. While I had some hunches about my subjects and about the focus of the study, issues emerged during data collection that shaped the direction of my research: for example, conflicts with parents, variance in the importance of children to teachers, and so on. Additionally, I found that on social occasions when I would describe my research interests, I would often hear comments about how mediocre teachers are and how the teaching staffs of schools have deteriorated over the years. Why, since there are ordinary as well as outstanding

representatives of any occupation, i.e., medicine as well as education, is the teaching profession known by its ordinary members while the medical profession is known by its great ones? The medical profession has enough social power to regulate and control definitions of itself while the teaching profession does not. Additionally, a worker's status comes not only from who she is, but also from whom she serves. The President's chauffeur, for example, gains prestige not from the intrinsic nature of her task -- driving -- but from the prestige of her client in the back seat. So too, the lawyers and doctors of famous men and women earn points by the status of their patients.

Teachers, on the other hand, especially public elementary schoolteachers, rarely earn acclaim by their clients: children. Many of us have children and, in one way or another, the schools serve most of them. And so, while I interviewed almost every teacher at the school, I made the decision to focus on those whose reputations were high. The women I repeatedly interviewed took their work seriously.

My decision was affirmed for me by a story a teacher told during the course of an interview. The teacher was driving her second-grade daughter's friend home one day when her daughter announced to her friend in the course of some discussion about work, "My mommy's a teacher." "Yes," her friend responded, "But my daddy's a <u>real</u> teacher. He teaches at the University." This second grade girl had learned early who society counts among its real teachers.

During data collection a number of important themes emerged which are important to the study as a whole. Here I focus on just one of them, teachers' need for autonomy.[28] This particular theme is important not only for the level of morale in a school (and research has shown the importance of high morale for school success) but also for our understanding of the meaning of this particular kind of work in the lives of women.

Let me first describe how I use this term. When I say that teachers want autonomy, I mean they want to be able to make independent judgments, and to have them trusted, and they want opportunities for occupational self-direction.[29] Teachers want freedom from over-inhibiting constraints in their work.

Teachers perceive their autonomy to be limited in two major ways; first, by the bureaucratic problems of school life which force teachers to examine in stark contrast their ideal of service against its implementation. Second, teachers perceive their autonomy to be limited by community parents whose image, if not actual behavior, threatens to undermine teachers' sense of authority.

The Authority of Bureaucracy

The reality of daily life in schools creates conflicts for teachers between their ideal of service, the education of children, and their implementation of it. Teachers are not the only people who feel this way of course.

In Testament of Youth, Vera Brittain discusses what happened to her ideal about service to humanity when she was working in

an English military hospital during World War I:

> It was always so strange that when you are working you never think of all the inspiring thoughts that made you take up the work in the first instance. Before I was in the hospital at all I thought that because I suffered myself I should feel it a grand thing to relieve the sufferings of other people. But now, when I am actually doing something which I know relieves someone's pain, it is nothing but a matter of business. I may think lofty thoughts about the whole thing before or after, but never at the time. At least, almost never. Sometimes some quite little thing makes me stop short all of a sudden and I feel a fierce desire to cry in the middle of whatever it is I am doing.[30]

The teacher Katy Bridges reminded me of Vera Brittain. She told me that teaching had been a calling for her. She had a comfortable upbringing and she was well-educated; she had gone to one of the Seven Sisters for her undergraduate schooling and to an Ivy League school for her Masters. Bridges has a vision of what teaching includes, and a central part of that vision includes her ability to make clinical judgments about children's education. When she feels unable to exercise what she considers her right as a teacher, she feels as if she has lost control. Consider the following example she gave me:

> What blew my mind open one time in the fall happened when I had a string of these specialists coming in. They felt they had the complete right to come in and say, "Hey, we've got to have your class for a half-hour, when can you do it?" And you've got to think, ah, I'll have to cancel this English lesson, I've got to cancel that... . It doesn't matter, this person had the right to come into your classroom. So after all this stuff during an arithmetic class in comes this lady that I've never laid eyes on before. She doesn't identify herself,

> walks in -- doesn't even ask can she come in, just walks right in, says in front of all the kids (taking over the class in effect), "Do you have any Indian children in the class?" Now this was October I think. I wasn't aware that I had any Indian children in the class. A child raises her hand: "My mother is Indian." "Good," says the lady, "come with me." Takes the child out and the child is at least a grade below in everything and she needs every moment she can get in the classroom, but off she goes. Comes back, I don't know, forty-five minutes later with a note saying that she is going to participate in Native American education once a week for half an hour, Tuesdays from 12:30 to 1:00 or something like that. No "Would it be good, would it be convenient, was it best for the child, what did the parents think?" This lady simply gives me this piece of paper.

So, feeling furious, Bridges[31] went roaring down to the principal's office demanding to know who this woman was and what gave her the right to behave as she had. Well, it turned out that she had been sent from downtown, having gotten permission there rather than from the principal. As Bridges saw it, her job was serving the pupils in her class and this intruder had taken away her ability to decide how she was going to do her job.

Bureaucratic procedures also undermine teachers' sense of autonomy when the particular practice appears demeaning to them.

Jessica Bonwit is a teacher with many educational values similar to Katy Bridges. Like Bridges she has an enormous dedication to the children she teaches, and like her as well she tends to spend her free time, whether at lunch or during breaks, working on her teaching. And also like Bridges she wants intellectual challenges to keep her from, as she puts it, "going

stale." "If you don't get renewed," she said, "you get burned out because you end up giving out all the time." Bonwit wishes that the inservice provided teachers with this renewal, and expresses her fury that it does not. Interestingly, I heard the following story in almost the identical words from both Bridges and Bonwit (and from many other teachers, as well). What follows, however, is Jessica Bonwit's version. The previous October, all the regular classroom teachers in the city had gone to one of the elementary schools for their Superintendent's day inservice meeting. There they were, 500 or so teachers sitting in the auditorium with a new language arts curriculum on their laps and the speaker on the stage said, "Please open to the Table of Contents," which they all did. The speaker first read the table of contents to them, then proceeded to read the new curriculum for almost an hour. Jessica said, "The whole thing was just so ridiculous and demeaning. I mean, teachers can read, we can get up and read that ourselves and we could have done that and then used the time for other things." She said, "Any day that you're away from kids is really rejuvenation. And that's why you need to use your inservice time well to get new ideas." She said she felt that going through the motions of inservice when real inservice was needed showed that teachers' work was not valued. She said that the administrators who planned these workshops were neither good teachers themselves nor liked teachers very much. All in all she felt fury at this kind of treatment.

Bureaucracy intrudes in still another way to limit autonomy through the implementation of rules that need to be interpreted for the whole school. Teachers who have experience with elementary school children come to expect that around all school rules will come testing and children's desire to carve out as much freedom for themselves as they can. The following example is a discussion at a faculty council meeting where representatives of the teams meet weekly with the school administrators.

The administrative assistant told the group that he needed to discuss some problems regarding discipline. He told the teachers that under no circumstances were the kids to wear hats on their heads or wear their coats in class. The teachers asked a number of questions to clarify what he meant by this. Could the kids, for example, wear stocking caps? Meaning that is, could black kids wear hose on their heads to fix their hair? About the coats, teachers wanted to know if the kids wear several coats, did they have to take all of them off or just some of them. The administrator said that he knew some of the kids wore five or six coats and if they took the top ones off they could leave the bottom ones on. There was some joking around about top coats and bottom coats. Then Jenny McAuliffe asked if kids had to take off their down vests? Did vests count as coats? The administrator said, Well, if they wear a jacket under their down vests, then they have to take the vests off, but if they just wore a vest, that was okay, they could leave it on. He said that everybody had to wear shoes to the cafeteria. There was some discussion among the teachers about whether they made kids wear shoes in the classroom.

Lisa Novak said she makes her kids wear shoes all the time in case there is a fire drill. Discussion followed about the wearing of clogs. All remarked how noisy clogs were at Vista City because of the wooden floors and the lack of carpeting. Jenny McAuliffe imitated perfectly how kids would cross their legs with their clog dangling on the upper foot and then maneuver that foot so the clog fell off to a rescunding clatter on the floor. The administrators felt that they couldn't forbid pupils to wear clogs, but that teachers should monitor the situation closely. The next issue was the wearing of bells on the shoes or in the hair. Apparently wearing bells had gained great popularity at about this time and the racket the jangling of all these bells caused in the classrooms was quite enormous. The administrator held up his hand to show the size of the bell that he thought was allowable and the size that wasn't. I noticed that several teachers drew circles imitating these sizes in their notes.

Teachers' reaction to this discussion revealed their dilemma. While there was some laughter during the discussion, at the end of the meeting many of the teachers rolled their eyes heavenward to reveal their disgust at the content of the discussion. These bureaucratic details of school life that teachers know they must handle intrude into their image of themselves as educators with work-defined tasks and goals. These details, which teachers do not integrate into their concept of ideal teaching, chip away at their image of themselves as serious educational workers. Real teaching is seen as watching the lightbulb go off in an individual child, often as a result of their particular efforts.[32]

In the face of bureaucracy, teachers feel like replaceable cogs and they resent these intrusions on their autonomy.

The Authority of Parents

A second major challenge to teachers' sense of autonomy is teachers' perspective on community parents. As I said earlier, Vista City school has a city-wide reputation among teachers for its "pushy" parents. Actually, the adjectives "pushy" and "professional" modified "parents" fairly indiscriminantly in discussions of Vista City parents. One anecdote told around the city characterized this type of parent. (Notice how the story starts off referring to the parent and ends up with "she" or the "mother.") A parent comes in to a Vista City classroom and says very strongly in a loud tone of voice to the teacher that she, the teacher, was absolutely not to use any more dittoes with this class. She, the mother, was just sick of dittoes. This is the image of the intrusive parent: the bossy, professional woman with nothing better to do than make life difficult for the classroom teacher. I would like to look at two particular incidents teachers had with parents which caused the teachers to be critical.

The first example is typical of many complaints which highlighted teachers' feelings that they were not consulted about issues affecting their territory, their classrooms. Katy Bridges, for example, did a favor to another teacher she described as having a "diametrically opposite" teaching style by teaming with her for math classes:

One of the kids who came from her class was a sad little boy with all kinds of insecurities. I could see that he was a sad little boy with insecurities and that he hated math. He'd get very upset if he didn't get it. I told him that I wept through almost every math class throughout elementary school and said that it wasn't a great favorite of mine either. I was trying to deal with his anxieties about math. Well, one day Carol (the teacher she teamed with) came to me and said, "He's not going to be in your class anymore." She said his mother had been down to talk with June Robinson (the principal) and "the mother doesn't want him in your class."

Interviewer: Why?

Well, I never knew; that was part of the problem for me. The other teacher told me, "He's scared of you." I said to her, I have to believe you, though I've been teaching for twenty years and this is the first child that I've heard of that was scared of me, but if he is, he is. But why didn't the parent come to me and say, "Look, my child is having a problem with you?" Instead, the parent goes to the principal. The principal doesn't come to me and tell me that the child is having a problem, nor did the principal say to this mother, "Did you talk to Katy Bridges?" So the decision is made and how do I hear about it? From the other teacher -- this happens a lot.

Katy Bridges told me this story to illustrate the powerlessness she felt when she was subjected to parental behavior of this sort. She was not a party to the matter. An additional factor for her was the principal's failure to mediate professionally.

The second example of a teacher's criticisms of parents also indicates this feeling of powerlessness, but emphasized teachers' feeling like objects. At this particular school, parents had been allowed for several years to visit classrooms in the spring to get a sense of the teachers' style in order, if they wanted,

to request a particular teacher for their child for the following year. No teacher liked this process as it heightened their already prominent feelings of being fish in a goldfish bowl. But some teachers develped strategies to handle this situation in particular ways. Christine Bart, for example, explained that she could deal with the situation if she could talk with parents after each visit. Because she had a student teacher each year who by the time of the parents' visitation could handle the class alone, but took advantage of this circumstance to talk with the parents out in the hall for a few minutes after an observation session. As I see it, this monitoring process restored her feeling of being in control of her own territory. On one occasion during the previous spring, however, an event happened which Christine Bart's strategy could not meliorate. A couple came in one day while she was teaching and they sat near her desk. While she was doing some direct instruction with her class she saw them rifle through different papers on her desk, open and glance through her lesson plan book, and examine a pile of dittoes. She said it was a devastating experience for her. It said to her, the teacher doesn't count but the parents do.

Not all teachers had had experiences of this nature and there were many warm words of praise for the efforts of many parents in school functions. Frequently, teachers sympathized with parental complaints -- over issues such as incompetent substitutes, program appropriateness for a brilliant (gifted) child. But, the power the parents symbolized to the teachers was present even for those who had not -- yet -- as they would always say, had any difficulties.

The parents' power was symbolized not only through complaints about them, but also by teachers' reactions to their suggestiveness. In the midst of one lunchroom discussion about how pressured and difficult life was for Vista City teachers because of the parents, the teacher doing most of the talking showed me a letter she had received from the parent of a girl in her class about report cards. The teacher said she was "thrilled" at the parents' comments, part of which were, "as you know, we've had many ups and downs with Henrietta this year and having her in your class has just been a wonderful experience for us." The teacher went on to say that she actually got quite a few letters like this. Another teacher, who had survived a particularly difficult episode with parents early in the year, spoke at the beginning of a faculty council meeting about a "wonderful comment" a mother had written on the report card she had just turned in. She said she wanted to "frame this comment" and asked the principal if she could cut it out of the report card. The principal said she would have it copied for her instead.

The parents' power while common in many schools of this type is due to the particular history of integration at this school. When two schools had been collapsed into one several years earlier and racial problems had threatened the school, the former superintendent said to the community parents, "My door is always open to you." He did not say, "My door is always open to you after you have visited the teacher and the principal," so some parents accustomed themselves to skipping several hierarchical levels in dealing with the school and made straight for the superintendent's office.

Whatever the specifics of this particular situation, parents have long posed a threat to the autonomy of teachers, and to the authority of school administrators as well. William Reese has written of some of the difficulties that ensued along these lines during the organization of the National Congress of Mothers during the Progressive Era.[33] And as Seymour Sarason has said, the Cold War did not start in Europe, it started between parents and teachers.[34]

Don't They Know We're Professionals?

The response of teachers to the parents at Vista City Elementary School was to focus on their professional status. Time and again after complaining about parents I would hear teachers say, "Why don't they respect our professional judgement?" or "Don't they know we're professionals?" This insistence on their shaky professional status reflects teachers' feelings that they are not in control of how they deliver services to their clients. Teachers' professional status is socially in question. C. Wright Mills called teachers the "proletarians of the professions"[35] and Etzioni calls teachers, along with nurses, librarians, and social workers semi-professionals.[36] Sociologists have long, and I think generally fruitlessly, debated the attributes of professions as compared with occupations.[37]

What Vista City teachers meant by professional was generally a nontechnical explanation. Their definition included their expertise and their specialized training, although the specialized training was debated. The general model of professionalism that these teachers gravitated toward was the old, fairly traditional

model which they saw guaranteeing professional authority to them. Greenwood in "Attributes of a Profession" distinguishes between professional and nonprofessional occupations in the following manner. A nonprofessional occupation, he says,

> has customers; a professional occupation has clients. What is the difference? A customer determines what services and/or commodities he wants, and he shops around until he finds them. His freedom of decision rests upon the premise that he has the capacity to appraise his own needs and to judge the potential of the service or of the commodity to satisfy them... . In a professional relationship, however, the professional dictates what is good or evil for the client, who has no choice but to accede to professional judgement.[38]

While I think Greenwood dramatically overstates the case for (and the reality of) the inviolability of the professional, it is this model to which Vista City teachers appeared attracted. In fact, when teachers talked about parents' visiting classrooms in order to observe teachers and choose one for the next year, the teachers called this "shopping around for the teacher" and decried it. Teachers wanted the parents to act like old-fashioned clients rather than like customers because the parent's behavior said to these teachers, "You are not a professional."

What are some different ways to analyze this conflict? The most common sociological explanation for conflicts between parents and teachers is the social class conflict model. Conflicting values and lower levels of educational attainment among teachers, compared to the parents of the children at Vista City Elementary School, cause friction. Teachers feel defensive and threatened in these situations, the model explains, while

they feel comfortable in working class communities where parents look up to them. While I think this model explains part of the problem, it is inadequate because of what it leaves unanswered. It does not account for the existence of teacher hostility to parents that crosses teachers' social classes, it does not consider how the structure of schools affects teachers' career patterns and reward structures, and most importantly, it does not focus on the outstanding fact that the teachers are women, and those they feel most hostility toward are women. I want now to look briefly at each of these issues.

Women who teach are not all of a type. Because of the acceptability of teaching for women, the occupation attracted, particularly in earlier years, a wide range of women including well-educated women with family backgrounds higher than the social status of teaching. So while some of these teachers entered higher social classes through marriage, others come from well-off families themselves. Correspondingly, many community members who are now professional also came from working class backgrounds which they left behind. The saliency of one's occupational role overwhelms individual social status. The sociological model looks less at this aspect, and focuses instead on teacher social class.

One reason parental restrictions on autonomy loom so large for teachers relates to limitations in the career structure of teaching. There are few rewards for a job done well or spectacularly. Unlike university teachers who may receive salary increases if they publish frequently, there is no merit

pay for teachers. Conversely, teachers with good reputations resent those teachers who simply put in their time and leave or who become known for their inadequate performances. These incompetent teachers challenge the self-esteem and the status of the occupational role of those serious about their work. Hence, we find teachers wavering over the definition of professionalism. Many of the teachers said that "professionals are those who do a good job." There is also practically no opportunity for promotion. Good teaching can be rewarded informally when principals will send teachers to conferences, or allow them time off from their work in the classroom to attend meetings of district-wide committees they may be on. But the few rewards that are intrinsic to the school as an organization cause teachers to withdraw into isolation to protect their autonomy: at least they have their own classrooms. Parents' threats take on greater power.

A second concern is my observation that teachers feel greatest hostility toward mothers. In fact, in the earliest days of my fieldwork I did not see that complaints about parents might have anything to do with gender. I soon realized, however, that in most of the criticisms of parents, only one parent was really the focus of concern. Actually, the very sentence that cued me in was, "I'm not like those mothers who sit at their kitchen tables with a coffee cup in my hands all the time... ." It was not that fathers never had interchanges, even unpleasant ones, with teachers, for they did. But it became apparent to me that teachers began their complaints using the word, parents, and

ended up using the word, mother.[39] As an important aside here, the principal's major complaints were, with one exception, about the fathers. The mothers often dealt with the teachers, the fathers with the principal. In fact, in one situation where a father had gone directly to the principal about a complaint, his response to my question, "Why did you go to the principal?" was, "Isn't that what she's there for?".

Let us look at this particular situation for a moment so that I may describe it more fully. Women elementary teachers at this school have conflicts with a particular set of parents, those with "professional" standing. More specifically, their major conflicts lie with mothers who do not work outside the home who are professional on two counts. They are professional because their family status is professional; many of them are well-educated and have degrees in education themselves. And they are also professional mothers.[40] That is, these mothers interact with teachers as part of their present occupational role just as teachers interact with parents as part of their work roles. As one mother, a single parent in transition from full-time parenting to full-time working who chaired the Parents' Advisory Council put it:

> I think there are many women (in this community) who have a lot of ability, who are bright and talented who are not doing enough with their lives, and so their child's school becomes the focus. They get on the phone and they gossip about a teacher or an activity. They spend a lot of energy and a lot of thinking energy on this school. Some of it's worthwhile, but some isn't, because much of it doesn't get to the direct source.

Middleclass mothers who work outside the home, however, are perceived to communicate with teachers as part of their private, non-public role. And they are generally perceived as less threatening.

In this context, teachers must also confront social norms which hold that particularly teachers in the primary grades are really only professional mothers. These norms maintain that what stands between what mothers and teachers do is some technical education, perhaps, and a paycheck. It was this set of mothers, and they were certainly not in the majority at the school, who symbolized the problem. The teachers' conflicts seemed most intense with those parents who resisted seeing teaching as an occupational role. Teachers claimed that the most intrusive parents wanted their children to receive individual parenting rather than group teaching. According to the teachers, these parents confused teaching with parenting.[41] These mothers forced the teachers to continually confront the fact that the teachers do socially devalued women's work. And, moreover, it was difficult for many teachers to put their finger on exactly what it was that does separate her from the mother. So, often they would say things like, "I have the files so I know the real story." They turned to the trappings of professionalism to rescue them, the window dressing of files, records, labels.

Problematically, this professional model women elementary schoolteachers seek to dignify and enhance their social status as it is presently envisioned forms a wedge that stunts long-term development of a satisfying work setting because it:

1) Interferes with the construction of cooperative relationships with the lay community (in this case parents) so that parents and teachers become adversaries rather than partners; this model of professionalism means you cannot have shared responsibility with lay people.

2) It feeds the tensions which for many teachers, arise out of the uneasy coexistence of love, concern for, and interest in their students on the one hand, and on the other, a dissatisfaction with certain working conditions of schools, particularly bureaucracy, feelings of vulnerability and powerlessness.

I do think that teachers analyze their vulnerability correctly. The role of the school has changed dramatically in the past one hundred and fifty years. Schools are now expected to teach much more than basic skills, and they have carried the weight of these expectations since the Progressive Era. Expectations of teachers are high, but the corresponding authority to act to meet these expectations is not forthcoming. The professional model also does not address teachers' identity as women. It would probably serve teachers better if they were to confront this identity and to examine its social ramifications. We might also ask what a feminist professional model looks like.[43]

In the long term social evaluations of elementary school teaching will probably not change until the women's movement forces us to reexamine the values we have placed on the care and raising of children. Seen from this perspective, women's concern

for autonomy in the workplace takes on added importance. It is not just that these teachers want to shut their classroom doors and do as they please. They want (as I will discuss in another paper) a workplace that is empowering rather than diminishing. The strategies the teachers in this school chose to shape their environment often, however, appeared to lack effectiveness. While there were a number of important reasons for their low competence as community-builders, including their low status level in school and social hierarchies,[42] a central problem was their equivocation about appropriate behavior for women.

We must examine the autonomy they seek against the backdrop of their determination to work. As I said earlier many of the teachers married to "conservative" husbands had to develop strategies that would enable them to work full time. It was not as if women's devotion to their families meant they would teach so that they could put the family at the center of their lives. Working contributed to their sense of autonomy as people.

And here we find deviation from the view that women teach because they need to earn money and teaching fits family life. While many teachers did need money, they also needed to engage in productive labor. For some women, the hours teaching requires enabled them to defy their husband's wishes in order to work. One woman, whose husband had made her promise when they married that she would not work, used the vehicle of returning to school to get her master's degree as a way of reentering the teaching occupation. At its completion she was invited to work at a

model program for a year. She told her husband she just wanted to try it for a year, and then "weaseled" another year and then another until it was no longer year to year. Another teacher whose husband did not want her to return to work, recalled feeling she would "go crazy" if she did not, promised that her husband's life at home would not change. The costs of this arrangement are high. A third woman wanted to return to work fulltime against her husband's wishes. She had been a junior high school teacher before stopping to have children. When she decided she wanted to work fulltime, she at first planned to return to a 7th or 8th grade class, but then a friend told her that the kids were "really different now" from when she had been teaching before. In her words, she decided that:

> If 7th and 8th graders were really violent, and if it was going to be just a terribly difficult situation for me everyday, then I'd better pick a group that wasn't going to be this demanding so my husband wouldn't be able to say, "We don't need this. Come on home."

Her husband, fed up with not knowing at which school to find her during a day, approved of the new situation as she said because "at least he always knew where to find me." These women sought personal solutions to their troubles which would not challenge the social order. We must examine their quest for autonomy in light of their determination.

In the short term, however, I think the immediate situation within schools can be changed. First, the leadership the principal provides is most important.[44] Major studies of a variety of educational issues have revealed that the success of

staff development programs,[45] what distinguishes safe schools from violent schools,[46] and the effectiveness of school innovations[47] all relate closely to the quality of the leadership. However, essential to the definition of good leadership is the principal's ability to involve teachers in the planning and implementation of school policies. A good principal, in other words, creates democracy.

The principal at Vista City Elementary School encouraged teachers to act autonomously in their classrooms. She interviewed as little as possible. Teachers were divided about her ability to be supportive: some found her very supportive while others did not. She seemed to feel that autonomy in the classroom was key. Not a particularly interactive person herself (that is, she tended to act alone) she did not encourage teachers' sense of power (or sense of community) outside their classrooms. She held meetings as rarely as possible because she did not want to impose on teachers' time. While from her perspective she was doing the teachers a favor, from their perspective they missed "the opportunity for bonding." One teacher said, "When particular issues come up I say to her, 'I think we ought to get together, talk over these things' and it is not something that is her style." Another teacher said that teachers wanted more communication. Near the end of the school year, for example, after an unusually lively faculty meeting over a controversial issue, she went on to report to me that the principal had resisted having a faculty meeting and was planning on a council meeting with faculty representatives. The teacher reported saying to the principal, "You should have a faculty meeting. Everyone will want to hear about this." They showed

their concern by their verbal participation at the meeting.

The principal's strategy with parent-teacher conflicts often undercut teachers' sense of autonomy as well. The principal believed in being open with the parents. She felt that a former principal's strategy of, in one teacher's words, "closing parents out" created enormous problems for the school and for the surrounding community. Many teachers approved her practice in principle, for they said that their ideals about education meant that they did not want a "false sense of security" brought by having the principal "back up the teachers" at any cost. The principal's strategy to develop opennes with the parents and foster supportiveness of the teachers was to withhold information from both parties. Many members of both sides, consequently, lost trust in her. Her strengths were many: she listened to teachers and to parents. She was willing to listen to criticism of her without turning it off, she appointed parents to committees even when they were critical of her. The teachers, however, looked to her for leadership in creating a sense of community and it was in this area she fell short.

A second key to changing women's position in schools as well as creating high morale, and thus school success, is the development of this sense of community or colleagueship among teachers in a school setting. The principal's role in creating this sense of community is as I have suggested, also central.[48] Community is not opposed to autonomy. Certainly historians have begun to examine the importance of female community to the development of women's autonomous strength.[49]

Teachers' struggles for autonomy in the workplace and the social authority this autonomy implies for them parallels women's struggles for autonomy in society. We must balance our awareness that women are steered into sex-segregated and stereotyped occupations through discrimination with a willingness to examine women in teaching as committed workers. As we look at women who teach, we must overcome our image of teaching as a domestic situation where teachers work out their lives in small rooms. Just as we resist looking at women as incomplete men, we must also resist looking at teachers as aborted administrators. To understand the lives of women elementary schoolteachers: as educational workers, as people who spend large amounts of time with children, as members of a work setting that is largely female, we must pull their identity as women from the periphery to the center of our inquiry.

## Footnotes

[1] Research for this article was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Education. The opinions expressed herein are the views of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of NIE.

[2] I would like to thank Mary Haywood Metz, Margaret Nelson and Seymour Sarason for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

[3] N. Frazier and M. Sadker, Sexism in School and Society (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); B. Levy, "The School's Role in the Sex-Role Stereotyping of Girls: A Feminist Review of the Literature), Feminist Studies, 1 (1972), pp. 5-23; T. Saario, C. Jacklin and C. Tittle, "Sex-role Stereotyping in the Public Schools," Harvard Educational Review, 43 (1973), pp. 386-416; Women on Words and Images, Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers (Princeton: Women on Words and Images, 1972); and J. Stacey, S. Bereaud and J. Daniels (Eds.), And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education (New York: Dell, 1974).

[4] S.K. Biklen, "Barriers to Equity: Women, Educational Leadership and Social Change" in S.K. Biklen and M. Brannigan (eds.), Women and Educational Leadership, (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1980); J. Clement, Sex Bias in School Leadership (Evanston, IL: Integrated Education Associates, 1975); S. Estler, "Women as Leaders in Public Education," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 1 (1975), pp. 363-386; C. Lyon and T.N. Saario, "Women and Public Education: Secual Discrimination in Promotions," Phi Delta Kappan, 55 (1973), pp. 120-123; P. Schmuck, "Deterrents to Women's Careers in School Management," Sex Roles, 1 (1975), pp. 339-353. More recently, see J. Adkinson, "Women in School Administration: A Review of the Research," Review of Educational Research, 51 (1981), pp. 311-344; C. Shakeshaft, "Women in Public School Administration: A Descriptive Analysis of Dissertation Research and a Paradigm for Future Research," in P. Schmuck and W.W. Charters (eds.), Sex Dimensions in Educational Policy and Management: The Frontiers of Research (NY: Academic Press, 1981). M. Wheatley, The Impact of Opportunity and Power Structures in Schools: Why Women Don't Become Administrators (Cambridge, MA: Goodmeasure, 1979).

[5] See, for example, J. Haskins, Diary of a Harlem Schoolteacher (NY: Grove Press, 1969); J. Herndon, The Way It Spozed To Be (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1968); H. Kohl, 36 Children (NY: New American Library, 1967); J. Kozol, Death at an Early Age (NY: Bantam, 1967).

[6] In N. Hoffman (ed.), Woman's True Profession (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1981).

[7] S. Biklen, Lessons of Consequence: Woman's Perceptions of Their Elementary School Experience, A Retrospective Study, unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1973. E. Pederson; T.A. Faucher; with W. Eaton, "A New Perspective on the Effects of First-Grade Teachers on Children's Subsequent Adult Status," Harvard Educational Review, 48 (1978) pp. 1-31; M. Rutter, B. Maughan; P. Mortimer, and J. Ouston, Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[8] Exceptions to this are the works of Willard Waller and Howard S. Becker. Waller's The Sociology of Teaching (NY: Russell and Russell, 1932) is limited, however, because of its reflection of earlier social values regarding women. His use of qualitative research methods to investigate the social world of the school meant that included in his goals was a vew of the school as teachers beheld it. Howard S. Becker's articles, results of his dissertation research, also carry a basic sympathy towards the teachers' world in that he attempted to learn their perspectives. See "Social-Class Variations in the Teacher-Pupil Relationship," "The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School," and "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher" all originally published in 1952 and 1953 and reprinted in Becker's collection of pieces, Sociological Work (Chicago: Ardine, 1970). While Becker does not discuss the teachers as women, he also does not make any assumptions about their family and work orientations.

[9] For historical perspectives see, for example: R. Bernard and M. Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Antebellum Massachusetts," Journal of Social History, 10 (1977), pp. 332-345; J. Burstyn, "Early Women in Education: The Role of the Anderson School of Natural History," Journal of Education, 159 (1977), pp. 50-64; N. Hoffman (ed.), Woman's True Profession: Voices from the History of Teaching (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1981); J. Jones, "Women Who Were More Than Men: Sex and Status in Freedman's Teaching," History of Education Quarterly, 19 (1979), pp. 47-59; K. Melder, "Women's High Calling: The Teaching Profession in America, 1830-1860," American Studies, 13 (1972), pp. 19-32; M. Nelson, "Vermont Female Schoolteachers in the Nineteenth Century," Vermont History, 49 (1981), pp. 5-30.

For sociological and contemporary perspectives, not only on teaching but also on women's work more broadly conceived, see M. Blaxall and B. Reagon (eds.), Women and the Workplace (Chicago: University Press, 1976); Boston Women Teachers' Group, "A Study of the Effects of Teaching on Teachers," Paper presented at the American Educational Research

Association, Annual Meeting, Boston, 1980; B. Grandjean and H.H. Bernal, "Sex and Centralization in a Semi-profession," Sociology of Work and Occupations, 6 (1979), pp. 84-102; J.W. Grimm and R.N. Stern, "Sex Roles and Internal Labor Market Structures: The 'Female' Semiprofessions," Social Problems, 21 (1974), pp. 690-705; S.L. Lightfoot, "Family-School Interactions: The Cultural Image of Mothers and Teachers," SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 3 (1977), pp. 395-408; J. Miller, C. Schooler, M. Kohn and K. Miller, "Women and Work: The Psychological Effects of Occupational Conditions," American Journal of Sociology, 85 (1979), pp. 66-94; B. Mitrano, "Teaching as a Woman's Occupation: A Feminist Critique," Journal of Education, 160 (1978), pp. 50-63; N.J. Sokoloff, Between Money and Love, The Dialectics of Women's Home and Market Work (NY: Praeger, 1980); and D. Spencer-Hall, "Classrooms and Kitchens: Looking at the Lives of Woman Teachers," Paper delivered at the Annual Meeting, Society for the Study of Social Problems, Toronto, 1981.

Perceptive accounts of teachers' working lives which do not focus specifically on women include: P. Fountain, What Teaching Does to Teachers: The Teacher as Worker, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1975; A. Lieberman and L. Miller, "The Social Realities of Teaching," Teachers College Record, 80 (1978), pp. 54-68; J. Little, School Success and Staff Development: The Role of Staff Development in Urban Desegregated Schools (Boulder, Colorado: Center for Action Research, 1981).

10 Years before these "changing assumptions," however, Thorstein Veblen (in The Instinct of Workmanship), described "an instinct of workmanship" as a fundamental need in human beings for productive work. Coordinate rather than competitive with this drive, he said, existed a parental bent. Cited in J. Bernard, The Future of Motherhood (NY: Penguin, 1974).

11 O. Hall, "The Social Structure of the Teaching Profession," in F.W. Lutz and J.J. Azzarelli, (eds), Struggle for Power in Education (New York: Center for Applied Research in Education, 1966), pp. 35-48; M. Lieberman, Education as a Profession (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1956); D. Lortie, "The Balance of Control and Autonomy in Elementary School," in A. Etzioni (ed.), The Semi-Professions and Their Organization (New York: Free Press, 1969); R.L. Simpson and I.H. Simpson, "Women and Bureacracy in the Semi-Professions," in The Semi-Professions and Their Organization, pp. 196-205; D. Lortie, School-Teacher (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1975).

12 Lortie, School-Teacher.

13 Simpson and Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions."

[14] Hall, "The Social Structure of the Teaching Profession."

[15] National Education Association, Status of the American Public-School Teacher, 1975-1976 (Washington, DC: NEA, 1977); National Education Association, Status of the American Public-School Teacher, 1970-1971 (Washington, DC: NEA, 1972); National Education Association, 26th Biennial Salary and Staff Survey of Public School Personnel (Washington, DC: NEA, 1973).

[16] The following are what teachers gave as one of three major reasons for their career choice:

| % of women | As one of three major reasons |
|---|---|
| 73.9 | Want to work with young people |
| 37.4 | Value of education to society |
| 28.2 | Interest in subject matter field (of most importance to secondary teachers) |
| 22.0 | Opportunity for lifetime of self-growth |

The traditional reasons reported in the literature ranked much lower:

| % of women | As one of three major reasons |
|---|---|
| 12.1 | Long summer vacation |
| 8.0 | Need for second income |
| 2.4 | Employment mobility |
| 3.2 | Stop gap till marriage |

Source: National Education Association, Status of the American Public-School Teacher, 1972.

[17] For a more detailed description of these procedures see R. Bogden and S. Biklen, Qualitative Research for Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1982).

[18] I also spent two months observing and interviewing in another school in order to test out some of my developing theories in another setting.

[19] H.S. Becker and J. Carper, "The Elements of Identification with and Occupation," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 341-348; P. Berger (ed.), The Human Shape of Work (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1964); R.L. Coser and G. Rokoff, "Women in the Occupational World: Social Disruption and Conflict," Social Problems, 18 (1970), pp. 535-554; E. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1958); E. Krause, The Sociology of Occupations (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).

[20] P. Berger and T. Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1967).

[21] See H. Blumer, Symbolic Interactionism (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1966); B. Glaser and A. Strauss, The Discovery of Grounded Theory (Chicago: Aldine, 1967); J.G. Manis and B.N. Meltzer (eds.), Symbolic Interaction (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967).

[22] E.H. Pleck and J.H. Pleck (eds.), "Introduction," The American Man (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), p. 1.

[23] See, for example, the following edited collections on feminist research: H. Roberts (ed.), Doing Feminist Research (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981); J. Sherman and E.T. Beck (eds.), The Prism of Sex (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977); D. Spender (ed.), Men's Studies Modified (Oxford: Pergamon, 1981).

[24] The names of the schools and all the teachers have been replaced with pseudonyms to protect informants' promised anonymity.

[25] Although most of the aides were black.

[26] I also spent two months at Archduke Elementary School, a very different kind of school. Archduke serves the poorest children in the city and is located in the neighborhood it serves. Unlike Vista City, its racial integration was accomplished through integrated housing rather than busing, as people from other parts of the city rarely choose to come to Archduke. I chose a school like Archduke for comparison particularly because I had learned that professional parents in the Vista City school created insecurities for Vista City teachers regarding their authority and their professional status. Even the teachers at a school where parents had little involvement in school life were keenly aware of problems presented by certain kinds of parents. While teachers reported that parents never undermined their authority at Archduke they recalled experiences that were opposite. In contrast to the extremes of Vista City and Archduke elementary schools, these teachers also described schools like Bloomer Elementary, located in a working class Italian community. In these kinds of schools, one teacher reported, "There is a very close family life. The way parents relate to teachers there is to come in and say to the teacher, 'Did you say my kid was giving you troubled? Thank you for telling me.' And out goes the parent and whack, whack, whack." There parents were particularly supportive of disciplinary action with their children, this teacher reported.

[27] It would be worthwhile to compare the functions these preschools served in women's lives with Dame Schools of the 18th and 19th centuries.

[28] See also J. Leiter, "Perceived Teacher Autonomy and the Meaning of Organizational Control," The Sociological Quarterly, 22 (Spring, 1981), pp. 225-239.

[29] See J. Miller, C. Schooler, M. Kohn, and K. Miller for a discussion of women's needs for autonomy in their work.

[30] V. Brittain, Testament of Youth (London: Wideview, 1978). Originally published in 1933.

[31] I appreciate the comments of Dr. Margaret Thompson, Syracuse University, for pointing out to me that referring to teachers by their first names sounds unprofessional. While I felt as a qualitative researcher I should refer to my informants as casually as possible to indicate the interviewer-informant relationship. I think she makes an excellent point, so in this draft I change my practice and refer to the teachers by their last names.

[32] See Lieberman and Miller, "The Social Realities of Teaching."

[33] W. Reese, "Between Home and School: Organized Parents, Clubwomen, and Urban Education in the Progressive Era," School Review, 87 (1978), pp. 3-28.

[34] S. Sarason, talk delivered at Syracuse University, March, 1981.

[35] White Collar (NY: Oxford University Press, 1951).

[36] A. Etzioni (ed.), The Semi-Professions and Their Organization.

[37] For some examples of these, see M. Cogan, "Toward a Definition of Profession," Harvard Educational Review, 23 (1953), pp. 33-50; A. Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?", School and Society, 1 (1915), pp. 901-911; W. Goode, "Community Within a Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review, 22 (1957), pp. 194-200; H. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (1964), pp. 137-158. For a critique, see J. Roth, "Professionalism: The Sociologist's Decoy," Sociology of Work and Occupations, 1 (1974), pp. 6-23. Also, see E. Hughes' papers on professionalism collected in The Sociological Eye (Chicago: Aldine, 1971).

[38] E. Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work, 2 (1957), p. 48.

[39] Ray Rist, in a discussion of parent-teacher relations which raises many similar issues also presents these conflicts using the word "parents". When he directly quotes a teacher, however, she says: "This damn group of meddling mothers has gotten me so mad, I feel like leaving this school." In The Invisible Children (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 60-61. See also Gertrude McPherson's discussion of parent-teacher relations in Small Town Teacher (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

[40] This is also a period when the amount of "professional" advice published about childrearing has escalated. See "The Childhood 'Industry': Conflicting Advice," The New York Times, March 16, 1981.

[41] See also Rist, Invisible Children, pp. 57-63. Also see M. Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy (NY: Russell Sage, 1980).

[42] Mary Howell has tackled this question (not quite satisfactorily), in my perspective) in M. Howell, "Can We Be Feminists and Professionals?," Women's Studies International Quarterly, 2 (1979), pp. 1-7.

[43] See R.M. Kanter, "The Impact of Hierarchial Structures on the Work Behavior of Women and Men," Social Problems, 23 (1976), pp. 415-430.

[44] For two excellent jargon-free discussions of the principal and leadership, see U. Pinero, "The Principal's Role as a Function of School Context," Elementary Principal, forthcoming; L. Miller and A. Lieberman, "School Leadership Between the Cracks: Conflicting Roles and Realities," Educational Leadership, February, 1982.

[45] J. Little, School Success and Staff Development.

[46] Violent Schools--Safe Schools, The Safe School Study Report to Congress (Washington, DC: National Institue of Education, 1978).

[47] . Berman and . McGloughlin, Rand Corporation Study on School Innovation.

[48] For an insightful discussion on the principal as a constituency-builder see S. Sarason, "The Mismanagement Model," Social Policy, September/October, 1981, pp. 50-52.

[49] See, for example, B. Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," in N. Cott and E. Pleck (eds.), A Heritage of Our Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 412-444; N. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood (New Haven: Yale University, 1977); and L. Gordon, "Individual and Community in the History of Feminism," paper presented at The Second Sex--Thirty Years Later; A Commemorative Conference on Feminist Theory, New York City, September, 1979. Also see the work of Carol Gilligan particularly "New Maps of Development: New Visions of Education," talk given at Syracuse University, February 23, 1982.